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DAN SMOOT

FULBRIGHT AND COMMUNISM

J. William Fulbright was born in Southern Missouri in 1905. He grew up in Arkansas, graduated from the University of Arkansas, and spent 3 years at Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship.

In 1933, he entered the new deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, first as an attorney in the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, then on the legal staff of the National Recovery Administration. Later, he taught law at George Washington University for a year, before joining the faculty at the University of Arkansas. He became president of the University in 1939; was fired in 1941.

In 1942, Fulbright was elected to the U. S. House of Representatives. In 1944, he was elected to the U.S. Senate for the term ending in January, 1951. He was reelected in 1950, 1956, and 1962. He has been Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee since 1959.

Five basic attitudes have characterized Fulbright throughout his political career:

(1) a tolerant attitude toward communism; (2) a fanatic dedication to the idea that the United States must surrender its independence as a nation, and become a unit in some form of socialist world government; (3) deep contempt for the American constitutional system; (4) a desire to transform the American governmental system into an all-powerful socialist dictatorship which can make decisions for the people about the production and distribution of goods (and about everything else), because the people are too ignorant and stupid to govern themselves; (5) an intolerant hatred of anti-communists, of those who adhere to American constitutional principles, and of those who cherish America's traditional foreign policy.

As a freshman representative in 1943, Fulbright first attracted attention by voting to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.[1]

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In 1943, he also introduced a resolution saying that Congress favored "the creation of appropriate international machinery, with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and [favored] the participation of the United States . . . ."

Enraged by criticism of his UN resolution, Fulbright said:

"The professional patriots beat their breasts and wave the flag and shout, 'sovereignty,' hoping thereby to frighten us, like sheep, into the corral of isolationism. In the minds of many, the word 'sovereignty' has some mystical connotation in some way associated with divinity."(1)

The Fulbright Resolution, which Congress adopted, became the official basis for U.S. participation in the UN. The UN became the canopy under which all previously rejected schemes for world government took shelter and flourished.

When the Senate was debating American participation in UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), at the close of World War II, Fulbright was among the foremost in supporting the move. He said:

"The Russian government has signed this agreement. If Stalin were primarily interested in promoting communism throughout the world rather than peace, he would have nothing to do with a plan to bring help to the starving and helpless people."(1)

The Soviets contributed practically no money to UNRRA, which became an American-financed, multi-billion dollar operation to buy communist control of a score of European nations — by feeding and subsidizing communists, starving their opponents.(1)

In his first speech to the Senate on March 28, 1945, Fulbright said Americans must give up some of their "most cherished prejudices" and accept the necessity of abandoning some of our national sovereignty to attain world order. He also denounced "unbridled and intemperate attacks" on communism and the Soviet Union, saying:

"The Russian experiment in socialism is scarcely more radical for modern times than was the American Declaration of Independence in the days of George III."(1)

In an article published July, 1945, by *Vogue*, Fulbright said:

"Another powerful prejudice which has affected our policy is our fear of Russia and Communism . . . . I do not believe that the Soviets desire to dominate the world."(2)

In 1954 — when millions of Americans were supporting the Bricker Amendment, which was intended to prohibit the government from illegally surrendering American sovereignty to international agencies through treaties and executive agreements — Fulbright said such Americans were "boors," "liars," and "louts," afflicted with the "swinish blight . . . of anti-intellectualism."(1)

In a speech on September 9, 1959, Fulbright said the Soviets are progressing faster than we are because the Soviets have a "national policy" which sensibly allocates the use of national resources, whereas we have none. He said the Soviets have an advantage over us because the decision-making process in the Soviet Union is centralized in a few men, whereas, in the United States, decision-making "involves all the people." He said:

"The American body politic is rather poorly organized for effective decision-making . . . . I am talking about the multitude of decisions which are made by individuals on such things as prices, wages, consumer spending, and the use of savings. Even the structure of our government is such that the decisions as to whether we have an adequate school system is dispersed throughout thousands of localities . . . .

"If we now want to change substantially the allocation of resources in the United States — if we want more cement in factories and less in swimming pools, if we want more steel in schools and less in automobiles — the only way we can bring this about is by action of the Federal Government. I think we ought to bring it about. . . ."(3)

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In December, 1960, representatives of all communist parties of the world, meeting in Moscow, ordered the destruction of the anti-communist movement in the United States. The attack was directed specifically against American military men, because prominent and respected members of the armed forces had become leaders of the anti-communist movement.

Fulbright spearheaded the drive to silence anti-communist patriots in the American armed forces. In June, 1961, he submitted a confidential memorandum to the Secretary of Defense, complaining about "11 instances of . . . programs, closely identified with military personnel," which "made use of extremely radical rightwing speakers and/or materials." Fulbright said:

"The instances . . . involve the participation of military personnel in programs on the nature of the communist menace and proper methods of combating it. . . .

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program, but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sellouts,' 'appeasements,' etc. Radical rightwing speakers dominate the programs . . . .

"There are many indications that the philosophy of the programs is representative of a substantial element of military thought, and has great appeal to the military mind . . . . There is little in the education, training or experience of most military officers to equip them with the balance of judgment necessary to put their own ultimate solutions . . . into proper perspective in the President's total 'strategy for the nuclear age.' . . .

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has great appeal to the public. In the future it may well have much greater appeal . . . .

"In the long run it is quite possible that the principal problem of leadership will be, if it is not already, to restrain the desire of the people to hit the communists with everything we've got, particularly if there are more Cubas and Laos [*sic*]. Pride in victory, and frustration in restraint, during the Korean war, led to MacArthur's revolt and McCarthyism . . . .

"It is probably the view of most members of Congress today that if foreign aid were laid before the people in a referendum, it would be defeated. The question arises, how will it be 5 or 10 years from now? . . .

"If the military is infected with this virus of rightwing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the fevers of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed. . . .

"Fundamentally, it is believed that the American people have little, if any, need to be alerted to the menace of the cold war. Rather, the need is for understanding of the true nature of that menace, and the direction of the public's present and foreseeable awareness of the fact of the menace toward support of the President's own total program for survival in a nuclear age."(4)

In short, according to Fulbright: great men like Douglas MacArthur who went to West Point could not understand communism or foreign policy as well as Fulbright who went to Oxford, or as well as civilian bureaucrats who may have gone to Harvard or to no college at all; the American people are not capable of sound judgment; they would even reject the foreign aid program, if given a chance; the people must, therefore, be kept in ignorance, being permitted only to know what the President's program is and to support what the President wants; we are in more danger from Americans who want to hit communists "with everything we've got" than we are from communists.

The Fulbright memorandum was largely responsible for the Defense Department directive of July 10, 1961, which prohibited military personnel from publicly criticizing communism.

On July 16, 1961 — about a month after Fulbright submitted his confidential memorandum, but *before it became public* — Gus Hall, head of

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the Communist Party, had an article in *The Worker* expressing the same views that Fulbright expressed in the memorandum, even using some of the same language and illustrations.[5]

In a TV broadcast on July 30, 1961, Fulbright said the West should perhaps close West Berlin to refugees from communist-held East Germany, in order to please the Kremlin and reduce tensions.[6]

In speeches to his Arkansas constituents in November, 1961, Fulbright sneered at anti-communists who claim that communism is a threat to the internal security of the U.S., saying this "is a lot of nonsense."[7]

On March 25, 1964, Fulbright told the Senate that the Soviet Union's internal affairs — its doctrines and ideologies — are no proper concern of the United States. Later in the same speech, however, he said the United States is fostering (and must continue to foster) social revolution in Latin American countries, to uproot "long-established ruling oligarchies."[8]

In an article published by *Saturday Review*, May 8, 1965, Fulbright said "communism is only the most recent in the long history of doctrines of human redemption."[2]

No informed person can reasonably doubt that communists provide the leadership for mob violence (on the streets and in the colleges), which is destroying our society.

Yet, Fulbright clings to his dogma that communism in the U.S. does not endanger our security. While the internal communist menace grows, Fulbright moves ever closer to communist positions, even when this requires him to make a direct about-face from previously held positions — as we shall see next week.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Article by Willard Edwards, *Human Events*, Feb. 3, 1962, Sec. III, pp. 79-82

(2) "From Washington," by Reed Benson and Robert Lee, *American Opinion*, April, 1968, pp. 61-2

(3) "United States Senate; Address by J. W. Fulbright, U.S.S., Ark.," press release dated Wed., A.M., Sept. 9, 1959, 7 pp.

(4) *Congressional Record*, Aug. 2, 1961, pp. 13434 ff.

(5) "Who Wrote Fulbright's Memo?", by Frank Van der Linden, *Shreveport Journal*, Aug. 31, 1961

(6) Editorial, New York *Daily News*, reprinted in *Human Events*, *Aug. 11, 1961, Sec. I, p. 510*

(7) Article by William B. Street, Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, Nov. 15, 1961

(8) *Congressional Record*, Mar. 25, 1964, pp. 6033-4

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